REASONS

FOR

PREVENTING THE FRENCH,

UNDER THE MASK OF LIBERTY,

FROM

TRAMPLING UPON EUROPE.

8010.d.

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"Nullius in verba jurare magistri addictus."

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REASONS, &c.

CHAP. I.

A Sketch of the immediate and remote Objects of the preſent French Conqueſts and Schemes, and their Conſequences to Britain, and to Europe.

THE greateſt conquerors and deſtroyers of the human race have ever affected to ſpeak the language of moderation and peace. For every war alſo there may be readily found, in the juriſprudence of conquerors, ſome ſpecious right, motive, zeal, intereſt, convenience, and ſuch other phraſes of political

duplicity. Under ſuch pretences Philip of Macedon cheated the Greek States out of their liberty and independence. Even the Goths and Vandals affected, on ſome occaſions, to quit the frozen regions of barbariſm, in order to break the chains, and to chaſtiſe the oppreſſors of mankind, as they modeſtly termed the Romans. The Ruſſian Autocratrix urged the ſame pretenſions in filching the Crimea from the Turk, and for her late and preſent iniquitous invaſion of Poland. Theſe qualifications of diſguiſing their deſigns, of dexterity in intrigue and diſſimulation, France is commonly allowed to poſſeſs ſuperior to the other nations of Europe.

The French, profiting by the groſs errors and indiſcretions of their adverſaries, Auſtria and Pruſſia, in their late diſgraceful campaign, are now chaſing them on all ſides, and are aiming to extend their conqueſts, or, in their political phraſeology, *their diſintereſted influence*, to the verge of the Rhine, and along its whole arch from Straſburgh down to its openings into the ſea in Holland. They have diſpatched towards each extremity of that goal two powerful and co-operating armies; they avow their determination to poſſeſs themſelves

ſelves of the principal paſſes and fortreſſes on the Rhine, and to model, after their own faſhion, the intermediate territories, and kingdoms, ſituated between their northern frontier and this majeſtic river, the antient northern boundary of the Roman Empire.

The principal fortreſſes towards the ſource of the Rhine, Huningen, Briſac, Straſburgh, Landau, are already wreſted from Auſtria, and are in the clutches of France. Eight more principal fortreſſes would bring them down to Nimeugen in the Dutch territory: theſe are Spires, Manheim, Worms, Mentz, Coblentz, Bonne, Cologne, Weſel; and the French have already reached and occupied the central poſt, Mentz.

Geographical charts demonſtrate that theſe fruitful countries, the preſent theatre of war, lay parallel with the whole northern frontier of France. From Dunkirk to Straſburgh they extend four hundred miles, and from the ſkirt of France to the Rhine, in ſome places, half that in breadth. Within theſe limits are compriſed all the provinces of the Auſtrian Netherlands: four out of the nine Electorates of the German Empire, to wit, Treves, Cologn, Mentz, and the Palatinate;

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the Principalities of Liege, of Juliers, and part of Cleves; together with Zealand and Holland, now menaced with a ſimilar inundation, and left two alternatives, ſubmiſſion or reſiſtance. The area or extent of theſe connected countries is equal to that of Ireland; but in fertility, population, and opulence, they far ſurpaſs all other countries of Europe of ſimilar dimenſions. Their population and revenue, if the Dutch Provinces are included, would be nearly equal to that of Great Britain: and with this addition the aggregate population of France would exceed *thirty-two million*, or more than one fourth of the inhabitants of Europe, with revenues proportionally enormous. It is upon theſe two ſources principally, men and money, that General Lloyd eſtimates the relative and abſolute force of nations.

A revenue and population of this magnitude, cemented together, and incorporated under one head, would be ſufficient to overturn and trample upon the reſt of Europe, diſtracted and divided, as they neceſſarily muſt be, by different councils, intereſts, prejudices, governments, manners, language, diſtance, &c. France would then hold the lever of the univerſe.

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She might, in truth, pamper her national vanity and oſtentation by the boaſt of Jupiter, who, as Homer tells the ſtory, challenged all the hoſt of Olympus crammed together, that with his ſingle weight in the oppoſite ſcale he would kick them up to the top of the beam. Europe at leaſt might then tremble at its Sovereign's nod.

Holland is now imperiouſly *commanded* by France to commit an act of ſuicide, and to give the death blow to her celebrated Republicks; to unlock the Scheld, the Meuſe, the Rhine; the three principal rivers which run through all the richeſt parts of her territories, and there empty into the ſea; and which, with their numerous ramifications, communicate with all her principal ports, naval arſenals, and garriſons.

Seas ſeem by nature more a common right than rivers; and on this principle the French would have better pretenſions to order the Sound and the Dardanelles to be thrown open at their ſummons. But, on the contrary, they are at this moment offering their aſſiſtance to the Turks to exclude Ruſſian ſhips from navigating the latter ſtraights, and conſequently to annihilate their commerce from the

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Black Sea. This is one, amongſt many other proofs, that the principle of *natural rights* is inſiſted on, or oppoſed by thoſe inſolent caſuiſts juſt as it ſuits their own intereſt, or political projects.

The French mean to do more; and *attend ſeriouſly to what follows, Britons!* they mean to ſpread their nets and ſnares from Dunkirk to the Scheld, the Rhine, and the Texel, around the contiguous mouths of the Medway and the Thames, and almoſt in contact with the heart and trunk of the Britiſh commerce and Empire. With ſuch additional ſea ports, in any future war the whole Britiſh commerce would run the riſk of annihilation. Beſides, if France ſhould eſtabliſh herſelf in the principal fortreſſes on the Rhine, ſhe may then, with ſafety, deſert the greateſt part of her triple row of fortifications along her northern frontier, from Dunkirk to Straſburgh, and employ that ſupernumerary land force and expence in her marine. One hundred thouſand men, ſuperadded to the preſent French navy, could not fail to alarm Britain. This is the grand and ultimate object of the preſent French manœuvres and conqueſts, on their northern frontier. They well know that, by

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a ſuperiority at ſea, Britain, Holland, and Spain, may, in a ſhort time, be humbled at home, and ſtripped of all their remote colonies in the Eaſt and Weſt. I do not conceive that beyond the Rhine France ſeriouſly means to extend her dominion. Her objects there are plunder, and to throw thoſe German ſtates into anarchy and rebellion, until, by eſtabliſhing garriſons along that important river, ſhe can not only bid defiance, on land, to all the Northern Potentates united; but, at the ſame time, iſſue her dictatorial mandates to the proſtrate trunk of the Germanic Empire. On the other ſides of her frontiers, the ſea coaſt excepted, ſhe is already invulnerable. Thoſe who are deſirous of further information on this ſubject will be gratified by a peruſal of the celebrated *General Lloyd's Treatiſe on the Invaſion and Defence of Great Britain and Ireland*.

It does not, however, appear, ſuch is the nature of avarice and ambition, that the preſent French rulers would be then ſatiated. On every ſide they caſt a craving and predatory eye. On their eaſtern frontier they have ſeized upon, and voted the Dukedom of Savoy as a portion and appendix of their New Re-

publick. The terror of the Swiſs has hitherto prevented them from breaking into the induſtrious and peaceable Republick of Geneva. They are ſending ſhips and armies to invade Italy, the Iſland of Sardinia, and perhaps Sicily. From a ſlight view alone of geographical charts, it is obvious that the poſſeſſion of theſe central iſlands of the Mediterranean would give them a dangerous controul over that extenſive ſea, and over the whole current of the Levant trade.

France, once allowed to dictate to the Continent of Europe, the iſlands, and their appendages, would ſoon loſe their centrifugal balance. Great Britain and Ireland muſt lay their account to adorn the final pageantry of triumphal car. Such are the ſtupendous projects, and prizes, ſuch the outrageous career of ſpoilation, which the preſent rulers of France, under various diſguiſes, are now hoping to wreſt from their ancient and lawful owners. For this purpoſe, all the revenues of fallen Monarchy, Nobility, and Clergy, of ſplendid luxury, and amuſement, are converted into inſtruments of deſtruction. If they are tractable beaſts, France means to put the bridle in the mouths of all Europe. But, unleſs

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the latter have loſt their ſenſes, or are buried in a deadly ſlumber, it muſt coſt many hundred thouſand lives, and millions of money, before this coloſſal democracy, this monſtrous domination, can be eſtabliſhed in our hemiſphere.

There are other, and no leſs cogent reaſons which at preſent render offenſive war almoſt a neceſſary evil to France. Their demagogues hope to give vent to the electrical clouds, the inflammable gas with which their armies are overcharged. They think it more prudent, though perhaps it is not leſs criminal, that theſe turbulent ſpirits ſhould exerciſe their patriotiſm in cutting the throats of foreigners rather than of Frenchmen; and by their abſence they have a better opportunity of ſharing the remaining ſpoils of domeſtic ſhipwreck. Probably too the popularity and exiſtence of the French Democracy depends upon ſome brilliant deeds of conqueſt, ſome ſuperlative gratification and ſacrifices of this nature to the national vanity and propenſity.

Ancient and modern hiſtory contains numerous inſtances of nations calling in ſtrangers to their aid, and having ſoon had reaſon to

repent of their folly." "The intereſt of the "people," ſays Mirabeau, in his pamphlet on the Scheld, "is rarely to change maſters, at "leaſt to receive them from the hands of "victory." The inhabitants of the Netherlands may yet be left in the predicament of the Greek Chriſtians of the Archipelago, whom the Ruſſians, ſome years ago, inſtigated to revolt again the Turks, and afterwards abandoned, without remorſe, to their fate. Whatever be the final event, the landholders, farmers, and merchants, of the Netherlands will probably find that they have been ſeduced or betrayed to eſcape from the ſmoke to ruſh into the flame. Two centuries ago the ſeven provinces of Holland, after a long and bloody war, under the wiſe conduct of the Houſe of Orange, reſcued themſelves from the yoke of the Auſtrian and Spaniſh Monarchy, then united under Philip II. The other Catholic provinces, however, of the Netherlands, ſubmitted by treaty to their ancient ſovereigns. From that period to the preſent, France has let no favourable opportunity eſcape of committing encroachments and depredations upon Anſtria. This is the third irruption within the preſent century, that France has made

into the Netherlands, and that Holland and England have been under the neceſſity of uniting for their expulſion. Such has been the eſtabliſhed policy of three generations; and ſurely the preſent torrent of anarchy and devaſtation calls ſtill more loudly for immediate repulſion and exemplary chaſtiſement.

Mr. Hume, in his Hiſtory of England, (vol. vii. octavo, chap 61), ſays, "Cromwell "was reſolved to concert meaſures with the "French Court for the final conqueſt and "partition of the Netherlands. Had he "lived much longer, and maintained his au"thority in England, ſuch chimerical, or ra"ther ſo dangerous, a project would certainly "have been carried into execution. *And this "firſt and principal ſtep towards more extenſive "conqueſt*, which France, during a whole "century, has never been able, by an infinite "expence of blood and treaſure, fully to aſ"certain, had at once been accompliſhed by "the enterpriſing though unſkilful politics "of Cromwell."

The French calculate, by a variety of ſtratagems, to turn this premeditated quarrel with Holland to their own intereſt. They are political gamblers who follow up their luck, and

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who juſtiſy uſurpations by ſucceſs. The following are amongſt the liſt of chances; to haraſs, intimidate, corrupt, and, by degrees, to reduce Holland to ſubmiſſion, or, at all events, to force her into an alliance inimical to Britain; to wreak revenge upon the Prince of Orange for refuſing, a few years ago, to ſubmit to the dictation of a French faction, and to unite with them in a perfidious conſpiracy for tearing North America from Britain: perhaps, in caſe of total failure and repulſe, to be furniſhed with a plauſible excuſe for confiſcating the forty million ſterling of debts, advanced in different loans to the French government by Dutch merchants.

In every treaty of peace, during the laſt and preſent century, the Dutch have ſhewn an extreme jealouſy and anxiety to thruſt France at as great a diſtance as poſſible from their frontiers, and with that view ſtipulated to have Dutch troops ſtationed in Mons, Tournay, &c. They were, with reaſon, apprehenſive that Holland would be an irreſiſtable temptation, and that it could not long preſerve its independence, at the mercy and diſcretion of ſuch powerful and profligate neighbours.

Some years ago, when the late German Emperor

Emperor (Joſeph II.) inſiſted upon the freedom of the Scheld, Count Mirabeau, ſince alſo deceaſed, publiſhed a pamphlet expreſsly on this diſpute, which then threatened to embroil Europe. Every argument of Mirabeau, againſt ſuffering the Emperor to open the Scheld, will equally apply at the preſent moment againſt the encroachments of France. I ſhall therefore preſent the reader with the following extracts from that treatiſe. The author was the ſupreme oracle of France, during the firſt Revolution, and had the poſthumous honours of apotheoſis conferred upon him.

(Mirabeau. "But is it then ſo clear that "the happineſs and riches of the Auſtrian "Netherlands depend upon the freedom of "the *Scheld?* or rather may it not be abſo-"lutely denied, ſo long as theſe provinces, "which may be conſidered as ſome of the fineſt "in Europe, have tracts over-run, with un-"derwood to clear, poor lands to enrich, "marſhes to drain, and canals to open for the "purpoſe of internal communication? or ſo "long as they do not contain a third part of "the inhabitants who might find ſubſiſtence "in them, without the aid of foreign com-

"merce?

" merce? It was religious and civil war,
" not the interdiction of the Scheld, which
" obliged induſtry, manufactures, and com-
" merce, to fly from the Netherlands to other
" countries."

" If the liberty of the Scheld were evi-
" dently juſt, it would ſtill be neceſſary not
" to attack ſword in hand the moſt poſitive
" treaties. In the time of Charles II. at the
" cloſe of the laſt century, it was reſolved to
" dig a canal from Oſtend to Fort St. Mary
" upon the Scheld, in order to give the city
" of Antwerp a direct communication with
" the ſea. Without a doubt it would coſt
" much leſs to make a canal, than to make
" war, and that an unjuſt one; for it is not
" true that the freedom of the Scheld can be
" juſtly demanded, nor without the Dutch
" dykes would it have been navigable. And
" to the intire province of Flanders Oſtend is
" a more important Port."

" In fact, the war which rendered the Seven
" United Provinces independent began in
" Flanders and Brabant. Theſe countries had
" then no other Port but *Sluys*. The Prince
" of Orange, who knew the importance of the
" Provinces of Holland and Zealand, and how

" capable

" capable they were of being put into a ſtate
" of defence, by their natural ſituation, by their
" vicinity to the ſea, and by the facility of com-
" munication with Great Britain, made them
" the center of his forces and reſiſtance towards
" the end of the reign of Philip II. From that
" moment the Scheld was ſhut up from the
" reſt of the Provinces every time that the
" city of Antwerp was inveſted by the armies
" of Spain. Upon its returning again to its
" allegiance to that Crown in 1658, it ceaſed
" to have a direct communication with the
" ſea; and, what is very remarkable, it was
" the Maſters of Antwerp themſelves who
" favoured the reſtraint upon the navigation
" of the Scheld; that opulent city, ſays
" De Wit, appearing too formidable to Spaniſh
" deſpotiſm."

" The interdiction of the Scheld then had
" its origin in cauſes totally foreign to the in-
" tereſts of Holland. The ſovereignty of
" this river has been ſince guaranteed to her
" by all the treaties which ſecure the political
" exiſtence of Europe. *It was upon this con-*
" *dition that the Dutch renounced their claims*
" *to the Auſtrian Netherlands.* They have
" poſſeſſed it 145 years, *France* and England

" have jointly guaranteed to them the ex-
" cluſive advantages of this navigation."

" If, in order to overturn poſitive treaties,
" it be determined, at preſent, to recur to
" Natural Rights, why do not all the powers
" of Europe, reciprocally, reſcue their pro-
" vinces conquered, ceded, or inherited?
" The *Social Order*, ſays Rouſſeau, *is a ſacred*
" *right, which ſerves as the baſis of all others.*
" *This right, however, does not proceed from*
" *nature, but is founded on Convention.* Con-
" ventions then are the baſis of all rights.
" Muſt all thoſe from henceforth be violated?
" muſt we deſtroy all political eſtabliſhments,
" undermine all authorities, and carry deſo-
" lation into every ſtate, under the pretence
" of bringing it back to the principles of the
" law of nature, from which every nation
" has deviated, or rather which have been
" univerſally infringed? As the tranquillity
" of nations is alſo an eſſential object; as the
" general happineſs of mankind depends leſs
" upon melioration, than upon the quiet en-
" joyment of what one poſſeſſes; *I maintain*
" *that the other powers of Europe ought to put*
" *a ſtop to theſe enterpriſes of the Emperor on*
" *the Scheld.*"

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"In fact the Scheld ought not to be con-
"sidered in the light of the other rivers of
"Europe, which flow confined between two
"banks, and which, near their mouths, have
"only shoals of sand, or little desart islands.
"The Scheld divides itself below Antwerp
"into two branches; the principal is called
"the Hond, or the *Western Scheld*, the mouth
"of which is at Flushing, and receives ships
"of war. The other, named the *Eastern*
"*Scheld*, admits vesses of considerable bur-
"then, and falls into the sea higher up.
"From these two branches issue several navi-
"gable inlets, some of them very conside-
"rable, which gives access to all the po-
"pulous and flourshing Isles of Zealand, to
"the Meuse, and to all the interior parts of
"the United Provinces. Thus, not only an
"ambitious Prince, master of the Scheld,
"may, in an instant, subdue or revage
"*Flushing*, *Middlebourg*, or even *Rotterdam*,
"with a great number of inferior Ports, and
"the mouths of all the canals which traverse
"the Low Countries; but a fit of rage of a
"wicked, or even a passionate despot, may
"bury all the country, and particularly *Zea-*
"*land* and *Dutch Flanders* under water."

" To permit a free entrance into this river " to foreigners, in the ſenſe the Emperor de- " mands it, is in fact to deliver up to them " all the ports of the United Provinces; and " not only all the ports, but all the defences, " all the ramparts, the dykes, and the ſluices, " would be at the mercy of the enemy. To " ſeize on a ſluice, or to pierce a dyke, and " drown, the inhabitants of twenty villages, " would only require a ſergeant and ten men."

" Is it not viſible to every one that, the " Hond once opened, the communication " would be cut off, upon the ſlighteſt miſun- " derſtanding, between the iſland of Zealand " and Dutch Flanders? Would not the " Dutch be obliged to maintain there, at a " very great expence, a more numerous mili- " tary eſtabliſhment than that which at pre- " ſent guards their Flemiſh poſſeſſions? " Would they not be forced to take the ſame " precautions throughout all Zealand, inde- " pendent of ſhips and armed pinnaces, which " muſt be multiplied upon the river, or upon " its branches, to oppoſe ſmuggling, the ex- " curſions of ſtrangers, and future enter- " prizes? With all theſe precautions, ruinous " in their very nature, the Dutch would be

" always

" always in the ſituation of Damocles at the " table of Dionyſius the tyrant. Let them " do what they would to prevent it, they " would be ſubdued in a few years. The " poſſeſſor of the Scheld becomes the maſter " of Dutch Flanders, of Zealand, and of " Holland; it is a political axiom, and I re- " peat it, without any fear of exaggeration, " *The Dutch, if they prize their liberty, ought* " *to periſh rather than ſubmit to the iniquitous* " *demand of the Emperor.* If he ſucceeds, he " may boaſt of having exterminated a people " who had no other crimes but thoſe of being " rich, and of having maintained a right gua- " ranteed to them by all Europe."

Could any man write a more pointed and ſevere cenſure on the whole proceedings and principles of the National Aſſembly, than is contained in the preceding extracts from the French patriot Mirabeau? What opinion muſt we entertain of the wiſdom and patriot- iſm of thoſe Britiſh politicians who exhort us to become acceſſaries in this pernicious con- ſpiracy, now revived by France againſt Hol- land? To ſuch erroneous guides I ſhall only obſerve that, Thoſe who pretend to teach ſhould firſt learn: That thoſe who aſpire to govern

govern nations ſhould leave ſome impreſſions of ſuperior judgement and integrity.

Mr. Mirabeau has demonſtrated that the Seven United Dutch States could not exiſt as an independent Republick, with the Scheld laid open to the Emperor: and, ſo far as reſpects both the Dutch and Engliſh, theſe encroachments are ſtill more alarming, ſhould this river become the property of the French. It will be important therefore to examine how long England would probably ſurvive, in her uſual and pre-eminent ſplendour, after France had ſeated herſelf in theſe new and lucrative conqueſts. There is not throughout Europe any other ſpot, of equal or even treble dimenſions, the acquiſition of which would be ſo beneficial to France, or at leaſt ſo conducive to her political aggrandiſement, and ſo injurious to Britain. The intire transfer of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies to France could not, in any reſpect, be ſo detrimental or fatal. The exiſtence of Britain depends upon preventing, *at all riſks*, the French from both ſeizing upon and eſtabliſhing, in this quarter, a new and formidable naval power. If by ſtratagem, or force, or both conjointly, the French could make the Dutch navy their own

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(and this is a part of their projects), Great Britain would be obliged, and inſtantly too, to contend againſt prodigious ſuperiority for her naval, commercial, and political exiſtence. It does not require any very profound ſagacity to perceive the immenſe and irreſiſtable advantages which the French would obtain from the additional population and revenue; from the ſuperior facility of locking without the Rhine all northern invaders; from a large deduction of ſuperfluous land force and expence to augment her marine; from the extent of ſea coaſt on the German Ocean, the excellent ſea ports, their proximity to the Thames and metropolis, their convenience for piracy and invaſion, and the ſhort line of operation, ſo favourable to both thoſe laſt-mentioned proceſſes of hoſtility.

Theſe different compact nations and principalities already enumerated, and ſituated between the limits of the French northern frontiers, the Rhine and the ſea, in reſpect of geometrical poſition, may be compared to a *triangle*; of which the northern frontier of France and the Rhine form the two longeſt ſides, Straſburgh and Landau the eaſtern point, Flanders, Zealand, and Holland, the maritime

time baſis of the triangle. We muſt remark that from the Streights of Calais and Dover, the coaſts of the European Continent, and of Great Britain, gradually recede from each other, both towards the north and the ſouth; that the maritime baſis of this triangle is immediately oppoſed to that part of the Engliſh coaſt between the Downs and Harwich; that the Rivers Medway and the Thames lay nearly in the centre; and that, throughout this whole extent, the two coaſts of the Continent and this Iſland are but a few hours ſail diſtant from each other. If we ſurvey, with a critical eye, the weſtern ſkirts of Europe, from the North Pole to Gibraltar, we ſhall find no other part, along this whole line of coaſt, ſo richly provided with ſea ports, and theſe communicating with interior navigable rivers and canals, and ſo conveniently adapted for maritime aggrandiſement. Is it neceſſary to enumerate Dunkirk, Oſtend, Sluys, Fluſhing, Antwerp; and the ſwarms of great and ſmall ports throughout the two provinces of Zealand and Holland, which furniſh the ſinews of the Dutch navy?

With theſe concentrated acquiſitions, France would have it in her power, and we need not doubt

doubt her good intentions, to moleſt England in the moſt tender and vital part, to attack her, both by piracy and invaſion, in front and flank. Conſider the principal channels of the Britiſh commerce and naval nurſery, of the coaſting, fiſhing, and foreign trade, of which the Thames is the reſervoir and emporium. Peruſe with attention the long-meditated plans of French invaſion, as deſcribed by General Lloyd, on the Channel coaſt; their projects from the ſide of Dunkirk, where there is a much ſhorter line of operation than from Breſt, and the ſuperlative advantages they would gain for this end by the more convenient ſea-ports of Flanders, Zealand, and Holland. If, throughout the preſent century, in every war with France, England has received ſuch ſerious annoyance from the ſingle port of Dunkirk, what accumulated calamities might be expected, ſhould this cluſter of ports be converted to ſimilar uſes! Under ſuch a precarious exiſtence, nothing ſhort of a miracle could preſerve Britain from rapid declenſion, and her empire from diſſolution. The nation would be compelled to multiply fortifications, to lay inceſſantly on

its arms, or to ſupport ſuch a ſtanding army as would endanger its liberties.

If thoſe different ſtates between the preſent French frontier and the Rhine were ſubjugated by the Emperor of Germany, and united with the Netherlands, or if they were incorporated with the Dutch Republick, I cannot, in this caſe, diſcern any very ſerious cauſe of alarm to Britain: *it is only as added to the overgrown power of France*, that theſe conqueſts could precipitate the ruin of her rival, and check the glorious defender and prop of the independence of Europe. Whatever Britiſh credulity, folly, or faction, may alledge to the contrary, the preſent deſtructive ſchemes of the French, in this quarter, originate from knavery and cunning; they are manœuvres of ſelfiſh arrogance and policy, under the cloak of general philanthropy.

I have reaſon to think, that the French rulers, in their predatory impetuoſity and confidence, buoy themſelves up with expectations of the inactivity and ſupineneſs of Britain. From the data of their patriotic oracles, and the reports of their emiſſaries, they build upon our weakneſs, incapacity, and factions. Amongſt this number Mirabeau, in the ſame pamphlet,

pamphlet, wherein he proposes to excite a Revolution in the Netherlands, in favour of France, adds for her encouragement the following consolation: "England cannot do any "thing, already she is no longer the first power "in Europe. *When she has lost her possessions in* "*India, an event which can scarcely be retarded* "*beyond two Lustra*, she will be a power of "the third order, at least for many years." Again, it has been the policy of France, ever since the Revolution, to threaten, and in many instances actually to embroil England with the factious adherents of the Pretender. That family being now extinct, they are forced to change their battery, and by various artifices are labouring to plunge us into anarchy and civil war; to put a thorn into the foot of Britain, which may either cripple her, or proceed to fester and gangrene. If they succeed in confining Britain to a mere defensive war, to certain expence without any adequate gain, their point is carried, and we fall into the pit. Lastly, they know, from general observation, that Confederacies and Leagues are soon broken, that, after the first gust, they may practise the arts of division and corruption.

ruption. All in this island can, to their cost, bear testimony, that, within the last hundred years, Britain has not been materially injured by any other European power, and then only under auspices of France; nor is there any other power, France excepted, of whose malevolence she has reason to be apprehensive.

The Printer had sent me the proof sheet before I had an opportunity of perusing the recent extraordinary report of the French Diplomatic Committee respecting Great Britain and Holland. A composition of such outragious impudence, scurrility, vindictiveness, and frenzy cannot be found in the annals of any civilized nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Reaſons alledged by the French and their Partizans, for Permiſſion to riot unmoleſted throughout Europe: Theſe Reaſons refuted: and a further Illuſtration of the ruinous Conſequences of their Political and Military Projects.

I HAVE liſtened, with more pity than admiration, to ſome plauſible declaimers, who alledged that the cauſe in which the French were now engaged, is a ſufficient excuſe and diſpenſation for every internal and external outrage. They boaſt that the French rulers and clubs have profeſſed themſelves the eternal friends of Great Britain; they ſeem ſurprized that we ſhould heſitate to rely upon their candour and ſincerity; they extol this new political ſect as the patterns of liberty, moderation, generoſity; although they cannot ſo confidently affirm that they have been ſtrict obſervers of the Ten Commandments, or of

the Chriſtian virtues. But, as theoriſts and bigots are tenacious of their conceits, their partiality exalts them to what they fancy themſelves, to heroes and demigods. I ſhall, therefore, proceed, progreſſively, to examine the veracity of theſe aſſertions.

Notwithſtanding theſe effuſions of laviſh applauſe, of ſhort-ſighted credulity, of factious ſophiſtry, or venal acclamations, I ſhould thank theſe prognoſticators to adduce ſome modern proof of French friendſhip, more ſubſtantial than conjectures and aſſertions. Careſſes and promiſes are but flimſy ſecurity and brittle merchandize. The French demagogues put this ſpeech into the mouths of their votaries and dupes, Let us do what we pleaſe throughout Europe, believe us, it is all for liberty and equality, without any ſiniſter motive or reſervation, and we are your affectionate humble ſervants, and ſo forth. This, to be ſure, is one way to avoid a diſpute; and it is a national bleſſing that ſuch men are not, at this criſis, Britiſh Miniſters. In their ſtations of reſponſibility, they find it neceſſary to look backwards into hiſtory, and forwards into futurity, and to appeal to tranſactions within their own memory. In the

vulgar

vulgar phraſe, they look a few inches beyond their noſes. I have read in ſome books of philoſophy that diſtruſt and ſuſpicion is one of the foundations of judgement. I am not yet blinded with the intenſe glare of rhetorick in which this cauſe has been enveloped, as not to avow that I perceive many objections againſt the admiſſion of this Trojan Horſe, this friendly and foreign idol. I have not yet caught the infection of theſe furious and headſtrong attachments to the new Sectariſts, as to be zealous of making France the Lion, and Great Britain the Jackhal.

The firſt duty of every individual, and of every nation, is to take care of themſelves; our next kindneſs and gratitude is due to friends and benefactors. It is not an eaſy taſk to diſcover the obligations that Britain is under to France, nor as yet, the modern ſpecimens of her ſincerity and frierdſhip. I have conſidered, and I wiſh I had good reaſon for altering that opinion, that whatever might be the event of the preſent conteſt, the friendſhip of France, as a nation, to Britain, would long be precarious, her enmity certain; whenever her power was equal to her malevolence. I do not deny that I ſhould place more con-

fidence in the political integrity of the Turk. Theſe maxims have long formed part of the political creed of a Britiſh ſtateſman. To the reſtleſs machinations of France, Great Britain is indebted for the whole *favour* of her two hundred million of National Debt, and conſequently for above one half of her preſent annual taxes.

France, under her Monarchy, by ſeizing upon the critical moment, ſucceeded in ſevering one of the largeſt branches from the Britiſh Empire. The wound, though ſtruck home at the vitals, did not however produce the intended effect. But have any of the late or of the preſent friendly Revolutioniſts of France expreſſed any remorſe for this perfidy of their Court in furniſhing combuſtibles and bellows to that rebellion? They have acted juſt the reverſe in all their words, writings, and actions. They repeat, and re-echo, with ſneers of exultation, theſe deeds of glorious miſchief; it is their theme and delight, their Pæan and ſong of triumph. With all their adroitneſs in hypocriſy they cannot, even during their civil diſtractions, and notwithſtanding the unparallelled forbearance and magnanimity of Britain to retaliate, I ſay they cannot

cannot ſtifle theſe exploſions of national animoſity. The leaders of their firſt Revolution were all conſpicuouſly active in aſſiſting the North American inſurgents; and this antipathy to England was a ſure paſſport and ladder to popularity in France. If you believe them they interfered out of pure zeal for liberty, and to reſcue North America from the *tyranny* of Britain, who before this had expended upwards of one hundred million in defending thoſe oppreſſed Colonies from the arbitrary gripe of France. We all know their real motives, and that theſe malicious paſſions ſtill burn with undiminiſhed fervour. Every Britiſh vagabond that could boaſt of having exerted his talents in theſe *virtuous* efforts of parricide, from Paul Jones the Pirate, down to Tom Payne the Staymaker, has been received with open arms, affection, and diſtinction, by the preſent French Patriots.

Mirabeau, in his Pamphlet on the Scheld, rips up with ſatisfaction theſe public wounds and ſores which are not yet cicatrized. "France, to whom the friends of humanity owe thanks and eulogiums for having founded the United States of North America." *Dupont*, one of the Diplomatic Committee, and

a Preſident of the firſt National Aſſembly, in an inflammatory ſpeech and pamphlet reſpecting the late diſpute between England and Spain, added the following ſupercilious threats, and moved that an Ambaſſador Extraordinary ſhould carry them expreſs to London: "If the war be ſhort, it ſhall be "in the heart of your own country, and with "all the impetuoſity of the French nation. "If it be long, the conqueſt ſhall be ob- "tained by the laſt *Crown*. What is to pre- "vent the inſpection of the Engliſh *Bank*, by "our National Grenadiers? Great Britain has "yet no idea of a national war with France, "of its activity, its obſtinacy, its ferocity, "and of the irreſiſtable energy of the veteran "warriors, and of the new warriors of "France. We ſay not this *boaſtingly*; we "ought to conquer you as we are ſuperior in "number and treaſure. As ſoon as we have "got together a ſufficient force to protect our "paſſage, we will come over among you. "News from America or India is naturally "long coming. *We are, however, certain that "the power will be theirs who are maſters in "Europe.* If now you refuſe peace to us and "our allies, upon our honour, we will come

"to

"to ſeek for it in London, and there we ſhall "aſſuredly find it. Reply quickly, for the diſ- "arming muſt commence within a week, or "hoſtilities in a month." Mr. Dupont, on this occaſion, might have expreſſed, with more pathos and elegance, the *humane* diſpoſitions of himſelf and his country againſt England, by adopting the ſpeech which the father of elocution puts into the mouth of Achilles when about to engage Hector. "Such pacts as lambs and ravid wolves, ſuch "leagues as men and furious lions join; to "ſuch I call the Gods, to laſting rancour, "and eternal hate." I ſhall not tire the reader with more than one other quotation, and to the ſame effect as the two former. It is the Anſwer of the Preſident of the French National Convention to the late Addreſs and Embaſſy of a factious Club of London; in which anſwer the Preſident expreſſes his hopes ſoon to congratulate thoſe *patriots*, upon the erection of a ſimilar National Convention in London: or, in plain Engliſh, on the wreck and overthrow of the Britiſh Conſtitution. Theſe will ſuffice at preſent as a juſt picture and index of the temperaments of the new ſect. If theſe are friendſhips, what is enmity?

It

It has been urged in excuſe that the inceſſant moleſtation of England, and of moſt other countries of Europe, originated from the corrupt and reſtleſs intrigues of the French Court, but that now things would be totally reverſed. Where then is the proof, or the probability? Arguing on general principles, are Republicks and Democracies ſo renowned for moderation and peace? Were not all the principal conqueſts of the Romans before the era of Auguſtus? Avarice and ambition will ever be univerſal paſſions. From the facts already enumerated, and from every other obſervation that I can make, the French, whether under a Monarchical or Democratic form of government, under every political tranſmutation, will be equally buſy in infeſting Europe. The Kings of France, like the Popes in the Cruſades, in their modern wars againſt Britain, have *followed*, rather than guided the impulſe of national reſtleſsneſs, prejudice, and envy. Ambition and conqueſt ſeem now to ſhoot out with more rank and noxious vegetation, under the Democracy, than under the Monarchy of France. The vaſt and miſchievous ſchemes of Louis XIV. are now acting over again, only under a different

ferent diſguiſe. The new philoſophers already diſcover very unpromiſing ſymptons of their uſing ſuperiority or victory with moderation. In ſpite of all their bellowing about equality, they ſeem eager to depreſs every other nation below their own level, and to be impatient of equals. In one feature they reſemble Louis XIV. who, it has been obſerved, was not content to make enemies by his actual power and ambition, but to multiply them by his oſtentation and inſolence. In whatever light we regard the preſent French, whether at home or abroad, the tyranny of the ſervants ſeems, at leaſt, not leſs intolerable than that of the maſters, whom they have condemned in the lump to death, exile, impriſonment, and poverty. Formerly, their Diplomatic intrigues were confined to ſeduction in the higher circles of government: now they ſpread their mines through a whole country. Like Guy Faux, nothing ſhort of a national exploſion, and wreck of the Conſtitution ſeems adequate to their malignant propenſities. Throughout their whole proceedings the predominancy of the national features are ſuperlatively viſible. They ſeem, many centuries, to have retained the ſame paſſions,

if there is any likeneſs in the following portrait of an eminent hiſtorian: "An incon-
"ſtant ſpirit, the thirſt of rapine, and a diſ-
"regard to all treaties, diſgrace the character
"of the Franks."

Sudden ſucceſs, or elevation, eſpecially in weak and vain minds, is ſometimes equally dangerous as adverſity. If ſuch brilliant ſucceſs ſhould continue to attend the French arms, there is reaſon to apprehend they will conſider Europe as ſubſiſting by their tolerance and clemency. Their Rhetoricians and Generals talk of making preparations to ſtalk over Europe; to mow down diſobedient nations; to drag Kings at their chariot wheels; to ſubvert in one general wreck, all the fixed principles of order, ſubordination, and ſo-
ciety. Already, in their heated imaginations,
the Scheld, the Maeſe, the Rhine, the Tyber,
the Thames, roll through their tributary
realms. Like the firſt Diſciples of the Sa-
racens, they claim a right to overturn all Go-
vernments but their own: all unbelievers are
their enemies, and the ſword the inſtrument
of converſion. With what propriety or de-
cency do they revive the deteſtable and ob-
ſolete doctrine of the Roman Pontiffs, to
abſolve

abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance? To extol treaſon and rebellion, (except againſt themſelves) as the moſt ſublime virtue: and to tolerate no other tyrants but themſelves? Are theſe the edicts of a ſober philantropic ſynod of legiſlators, or of a divan of incendiaries? What pretenſions have they to calumniate, with impertinent deriſion, all the reſpectable inſtitutions of civil ſociety; to fulminate ſuch alarming menaces, ſuch ſentences of proſcription, ſuch anathemas of infallibility; to brand the reſt of Europe as hereticks or infidels; to exact ſuch implicit deference and ſacrifices? They are in haſte to ſurprize and aſtoniſh, and to emerge, like meteors, or balloons, from the humble dictators of faſhions and dreſs, to the omnipotent ſovereïgns of opinion and human reaſon.

The modern virtues of the French, as they are termed, ſeem far more dangerous than their ancient vices: and even virtues, acknowledged as ſuch, when carried to exceſs, may become odious and criminal. Example, precept, and moderation, might have gradually conciliated other nations. Againſt force, and the ſubverſion of public and private rights, every liberal mind muſt revolt. The other, as yet independent, nations of Europe, ſhould have

been permitted for a conſiderable time longer to indulge, at leaſt, their harmleſs errors and habits; to have had ſome experience and proof of the ſuperlative benefits and precedency of the French Democracy, before they ſurrendered by force or capitulation, and with ſuch indiſcreet precipitancy, their ſenſes, poſſeſſions, privileges, codes of legiſlation, the deareſt intereſts, and the exiſtence of their empires. The French ſhould have waited until their temporary enthuſiaſm had ſpent itſelf, and until their paſſions had ſubſided to their proper level and temperature. Mahomet, with all the advantages of inſpiration, ſpent ſeveral years in putting the finiſhing hand to his religious dogmas, before he ventured to impoſe them upon mankind. But the French, before they had manufactured even the ſkeleton of their laſt or new Idol of Liberty, ſet forth, with frantic zeal, to offer this embryo, this mutilated bantling, to the adoration of Europe.

In their impetuoſity the French forgot to reflect that Europe was ſtruck with horror at the recital of the bloody ſcenes recently perpetrated, if not by the authority, at leaſt by the connivance of the National Aſſembly or ruling faction: that they then preſented the hideous ſpectacle of a political ſynagogue de-

filed

filed with human ſacrifices: that Paris then reſembled a den of wild beaſts, a hord of barbarians hardened againſt pity and remorſe. The rights of ſavage freedom, the luxury of aſſaſſination, is not, in modern times, a faſhionable amuſement in Britain. They do not regard revolutions and aſſaſſinations as the ſport and variety of a dramatic repreſentation. Who can be ſurprized that Europe yet glows with a generous deteſtation of theſe political inquiſitors, theſe triumphant enemies of humanity and juſtice. Theſe abominable crimes we neither can excuſe nor exaggerate. Is it from Paris, the ſink of vice and corruption, the monopoliſt of modern revolutions and murders, that the new elements of liberty and ſcience are to be graciouſly diſtributed to the reſt of Europe? Is this the ſupreme centre, head, and throne, round which the other nations of Europe will be permitted to roll as ſubordinate ſatellites? Is this the auguſt tribunal that is ſo kind as to take Europe under its protection; to which they will have the cheap advantage of carrying their appeals; and that will furniſh preceptors, profeſſors, and dancing maſters, to the grown children of our hemiſphere? In a word, is the profeſſion of

Democracy,

Democracy, and the hatred of Kings, to be an indulgence from all moral duties? Is it, like the Cruſades, to be a full atonement, receipt, and abſolution from all tranſgreſſions and criminality, paſt, preſent, and to come? This French Democracy, does not chear the pretended night and darkneſs of Europe with the dazling ſplendour of the boreal lights. It has hitherto approached us, not in the inviting nature of a gentle gale, or a refreſhing breeze; it aſſails and appals us as a tornado, a ſirocco, or a peſtiferous hurricane in the burning ſands of Arabia.

There are eminent writers who aſſert that a ſyſtem purely philoſophical is not the moſt tolerant. As to the French ſyſtem, ſo far as we know of it, it bears ſome reſemblance to the phyſicks or rather metaphyſicks of the Greek Academy and Lyceum, or of the Alexandrian Schools; ſyſtems built not on hiſtory, obſervations, and experiment, but on conjectures, aſſertions, and loquacious dogmatiſm. Beſides, I am not convinced that a difference in either governments or religion, alone, is a juſt cauſe for hoſtilities, or for putting thoſe countries to the ſword. I have read and obſerved that governments and religions muſt be adapted to the inhabitants,

inhabitants, climates, habits, and prejudices. Reaſon is a plant very ſlow in its growth; and both liberty and ſcience require a ſoil prepared for their cultivation. Politicians and phyſicians muſt often be the aſſiſtants and ſervants, not the raſh tyrants of nature. They know alſo that ſudden changes and extremes are equally dangerous to the human and political conſtitution; and that ſome remedies are more pernicious than the diſeaſe. Men like to be happy in their own way, and there are many who do not think the French model the only criterion of right and wrong. Errors, prejudices, misfortunes, coporeal and political infirmities, never can be eradicated. It is the lot of man to be ſupplied, from the two urns of good and evil. "Such is the conſtitution of civil ſociety, that whilſt a few perſons are diſtinguiſhed by riches, honours, knowledge, the greateſt part of the people are condemned to obſcurity, ignorance, and too many to poverty." After all, the loweſt ranks in a well regulated ſociety need not envy the ſtate of uncivilized nature. Dr. Smyth, in his Wealth of Nations, juſtly obſerves, that an Engliſh labourer enjoys more real luxuries and comforts than an African King. It is therefore a

ſtale

ſtale trick and impoſition of the French, upon the paſſions and credulity of the ignorant, to revive theſe exploded dreams of the golden age, the terreſtrial paradiſe, the millennium, the philoſopher's ſtone; to propoſe the ſuſpenſion of their paltry amulets and panaceas round the necks of grown-up men. The ſenſible part of Europe is now ſurfeited with theſe viſionary projects, with the cant and bombaſt of theſe political mountebanks. They ſee through all the pitiful arts which are exerted to inveigle the weak and credulous into the whirlpool of Democracy.

If, as the French affect to believe and repreſent, theirs was really a Cruſade of liberty, why do they not firſt emancipate the neighbouring ſlaves of Africa and Turkey? Why is the firſt attack made upon the moſt flouriſhing and free countries of the European Continent, from ſome of whom they had received no offence? Even Italy, as having long ſheathed the ſword of war, as the modern reſtorer and nurſe of the arts and ſciences, notwithſtanding her ſuperſtition, is entitled to the indulgence and veneration of her European diſciples. After all this parade and oſtentation, wherein conſiſts this French ſympathy,

pathy, and generoſity in their extraneous donations? Not *in diſtributing their own*, but *the property of other nations*, and of *thoſe parts of which they are not in poſſeſſion*. Beſides, the whole of theſe donations are more or leſs calculated for their own intereſt and aggrandizement, and when the proper time arrives they will ſeize upon the harveſt and monopoly of their neighbours conſpiracies. After ſifting out the bombaſt of natural rights, about the freedom of rivers, it is evident that the Moſelle, and the Meuſe, taking their riſe in France, and diſcharging into the Rhine, and the Dutch ſeas, will be extremely beneficial to them, no matter how detrimental to their neighbours: that through the trunk of the Rhine and its Northern branches they would command a conſiderable ſhare of the German trade. Have this generous people given away an inch of France, or any of their ſuperfluous Sugar Iſlands to their more neceſſitous neighbours? Do they propoſe to reſtore Dunkirk to its ancient and legal owners the maſters of the Netherlands? If wiſdom had always preſided in the Councils of England, Cromwel would not have aſſiſted the French in wreſting

Dunkirk from Auſtria; nor would Charles II. have ſold it to them afterwards for four hundred thouſand pounds. Far better policy had it been to have reſtored it, gratis, to the Auſtrian crown, and to have guaranteed the poſſeſſion of it to them. It ſhould have been a fundamental and eternal axiom of Great Britain never to have permitted France to extend her northern frontier beyond the harbour of *Calais*.

A few more words on this prodigy of generoſity. Will any of thoſe new French friends be more liberal than formerly in paying an Engliſhman's debts and taxes; and is not national friendſhip ſtill more precarious? Does any man of ſenſe and penetration believe that the French are exhauſting the blood and treaſure of their nation from pure motives of diſintereſted chivalry? They are not ſuch liberal Quixotes. I am too well acquainted with the character of the nation, and, perſonally, with ſome of their preſent leading Privy Counſellors and Generals, to be ſo groſsly duped by theſe flaſhes of liberty, theſe decoys for ſuperficial credulity. If they ſucceed, and if the inhabitants of the Netherlands ſwallow the baited hook, dominion,

direct

direct or indirect, will, at a convenient opportunity, be the price of this pretended kindneſs and liberation. For ſome time, perhaps, it would be both policy and amuſement for the Cat to play with the Mouſe.

Theſe new Metaphyſicians of France have variable creeds for every emergency. They are dextrous Pharmocopoliſts and Alchymiſts, who, in their Democratic crucibles and retorts, prepare their draughts of ſubtle poiſon and necromancy with great art and myſtery: "Bubble, bubble, toil and trouble."—Maſonry, with all thy paraphranelia of Jachin and Boaz, bow thy diminutive head to this new ſocial fraternity! In their fundamental and fraternal code, they laid it down as a ſtate aphoriſm, *Never to make offenſive war, nor external conqueſt.* Will any honeſt man deny that thoſe who made this law, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, have not been equally indefatigable in violating it? It was either Zingis Khan or Tamerlane who declared on his honour, and with great ſolemnity, that he had always abhorred war, and loved peace. At that time he had deſtroyed in battle ſeveral millions of men. The French talk of peace, diſintereſtedneſs, and abhorrence of conqueſt,

whilſt, in the ſame breath, they are opening the ſluices of murder and rapine upon every ſide of Europe. Their armies, like ſwarms of hungry locuſts, are ſpreading their devouring ravages towards every fruitful paſturage of our hemiſphere. They firſt declared offenſive war againſt the Pope, Auſtria, and Sardinia, and they ſince voted Avignon and Savoy as appendages of France. Their inſults and plots againſt Holland and her ally England, amount already to a declaration of war. The thief, it is true, has not broke into the houſe, but he has all his tools, his trains, and matches ready, and avows his intentions.

I am aware of the lame apology, or rather ſubterfuge with which the French and their friends will attempt to palliate theſe flagrant and poſitive charges. They will exclaim that they have been invited into the Netherlands. Were they, by whom? Is it not notorious, and but a few months ago, that the French Generals ſent thither, with a conſiderable force, to ſound the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, declared in their public correſpondence with the National Aſſembly, that not one could be prevailed upon to join their ſtandard.

ſtandard. The French are indebted to a more irreſiſtible argument, to cannon and bayonets, for their admiſſion into Flanders. But ſuppoſe we ſhould admit it as a fact, that at preſent, "per fas aut nefas," they have made converts in the Netherlands, is it not ſtill more true and notorious that Auſtria and Pruſſia had many more plauſible pretences, far more reſpectable and numerous invitations for entering France: in order, I ſuppoſe, to reinſtate ſome reſemblance of the ancient forms, but more favourable to general liberty? Have not other nations full as good a right to ſupport the ancient and eſtabliſhed government of the Netherlands, or of Savoy, as the French have to carry firebrands there, and to ſtir up treaſon and revolt? What would they ſay to ſuch practices againſt themſelves? Self-preſervation and public defence is the duty of every man, and few would heſitate to call in the fire-engines to ſtop a conflagration of incendiaries, eſpecially, if the ſparks and flames were likely to reach their own dwellings. I am no advocate for that part of the language of the Duke of Brunſwick's Manifeſto, wherein he deviates too far into the vituperative and vindictive ſtiles of logick: But I aſk

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what milder epithets can be applied to Dumurier's Manifeſto addreſſed to the Netherlands? Does that compoſition of ſeduction and terror, "like the fleeces of deſcending "ſnow, fall ſoft and melting, and ſink into "the heart?" On the contrary, does not that French military Drawcanſir, in his tremendous denunciations againſt the refractory, outherod Herod? In what Aſſembly did the foul propoſal originate for regimenting a corps of aſſaſſins?

Whether it proceeds from the inviſible decrees of divine juſtice, or from natural cauſes, I pretend not to determine: but certain it is, that almoſt all the active, conſpicuous, and vindictive of the French rulers and patriots in ſupporting the rebellion in North America, have already ſuffered, or are now ſuffering the puniſhments of criminals and malefactors. In the Peace of 1762, the bungling Counſellors of a young King, adviſed him to ſacrifice the intereſt of Britain to that of the American Colonies, and to reſtore back the captured French Iſlands. Had they been retained, we ſhould not, at leaſt in our generation, have heard of any North American revolt, nor have felt the additional load of one hundred millions

millions of National Debt. Providence, however, once more preſents to Britain *an ample equivalent for all theſe loſſes and robberies*. The moment is critical and deciſive, and calls for inſtantaneous exertion. The father of the Engliſh ſtage has wiſely remarked that "there "is a tide in the affairs of men," and he might have added of nations. The advantage ſuffered to paſs by, never could be recovered; nor in that caſe perhaps might the poſſeſſion of our own Sugar Iſlands be ſo ſecure and durable: which, after all, are greatly inferior in value to the French. All Europe exclaims in uniſon againſt the flagitious uſurpers, and are eager and ready to ſecond our efforts. Retaliation, the "Lex Talionis," ſelf-defence, fidelity to allies, the future tranquillity of Britain and Europe, neceſſity, all conſpire to enforce this deciſive ſtroke. France will have herſelf alone to blame, if in the ſchool of adverſity ſhe is at length taught this moral leſſon, "That juſtice and puniſhment, though "ſlow, are ſure; and that honeſty is the "beſt policy."

It is now time to ſtem this torrent of fanaticiſm and conqueſt. For frantic patients ſalutary violence is often indiſpenſible to the cure.

cure. It appears no longer queſtionable whether dilatory and ambiguous meaſures are preferable to deciſion, or temporary expedients to eſtabliſhed policy. We cannot truſt to patience, reſignation, and the lottery of events. This would be to abandon the helm to the mercy of the ſtormy elements; to prefer the certainty of diſhonour and the probability of ruin, to the favourable chances of arms and ſucceſs. This would be a proclamation of weakneſs and timidity, of decay of power and reputation. What ſolid treaty or engagement can Great Britain enter into with a nation, who, in their public capacity, avow an eagerneſs to obliterate all political records and compacts, and who claim the diſpenſing power of tyranny? If we ſpeak truth, we muſt admit that England cannot boaſt of thoſe few periods of her hiſtory wherein ſhe was leagued with France. I truſt Great Britain is not yet diſpoſed to accept from France the boon which the giant monſter Polyphemus granted to Ulyſſes, the favour of being laſt devoured. Between an open enemy and a treacherous friend the choice is obvious.

The nations of antiquity too often careleſs of each others ſafety, were, from that cauſe, ſucceſſively

ſucceſſively vanquiſhed and enſlaved. The Greek ſtates, notwithſtanding the eloquence of Demoſthenes, contributed to their own ruin by not uniting their councils and arms in oppoſition to the plauſible ambition and affected friendſhip of the Macedonian uſurper. To the ſame apathy and blindneſs Rome was indebted for many of her conqueſts. The Chriſtian powers of Europe beheld, with fatal indifference, the attack and ſiege of Conſtantinople: before their tardy ſuccours arrived, this laſt invaluable remnant of the Roman Empire had fallen under the Turk. If the European nations are now progreſſively ſubdued, it muſt be from their own fears and follies, and the incapacity of their rulers; and they muſt aſſiſt in putting on their own fetters. There is an old Latin maxim; "Obſta principiis."

FINIS.

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